

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAM-01 SAJ-01 OMB-01 IO-10 ACDA-05

X 8

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /077 W

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pR 111737Z AUG 75

a0331.tFM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2096

pINFO AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, FR

SUBJECT: PCF SECRETARY GENERAL MARCHAIS' PRESS

CONFERENCE: POLITICAL ASPECTS

1. COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER GEORGES MARCHAIS HELD WIDE-RANGING PRESS CONFERENCE AUGUST 8 BEGINNING WITH LENGTHY PREPARED STATEMENT ATTACKING GOE OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES. MAIN PART OF QUESTION PERIOD DEALT WITH PRAVDA ARTICLE OF AUGUST 6 BY ZARODOV, UPCOMING CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN PC AND PORTUGAL.

2. ON PRAVDA MARCHAIS SAID: "WE ARE NOT FAMILIAR WITH THE ENTIRE TEXT OF THE ARTICLE. IT SEEMS TO BE AN ARTICLE WRITTEN ON THE OCCASION OF THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF ANOTHER ARTICLE WRITTEN BY LENIN (THE TWO TACTICS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY). WE ARE THEREFORE NOT EXAGGERATING ITS IMPORTANCE. IN SPITE OF THE GENIUS OF LENIN AND THE VALUABLE TEACHINGS WHICH FLOW FROM HIS WORK, IT IS NOT IN THE POWER OF ANYONE TO FIND IN HIS WRITINGS A PREPARED OR STEREOTYPED ANSWER TO THE PROBLEMS WHICH WE

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MUST RESOLVE TODAY IN EACH OF OUR COUNTRIES. IT'S IN THIS SPIRIT THAT WE READ THIS ARTICLE AND, IF NECESSARY, THAT WE WILL FORMULATE OUR OPINION ... BUT WE ARE OBLIGED TO SAY AGAIN:

A) THAT IT IS IN PARIS, NOT MOSCOW, THAT THE POLICY OF THE PCF IN ALL ITS ASPECTS IS DECIDED.

B) THAT OUR STRATEGY TO GO AS FAST AS POSSIBLE TOWARD ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEMOCRACY, TOWARD SOCIALISM, IS FOUNDED ON THE UNION OF THE LEFT, ON THE UNION OF THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE AROUND THE COMMON PROGRAM OF GOVERNMENT, AND THAT WE ARE CONSECRATING ALL OUR EFFORTS TO BRINGING ABOUT THIS POLICY. IT IS COMPLETELY OUT OF THE QUESTION THAT WE CHANGE IN THIS.

C) THAT WITH RESPECT TO THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE LIBERTIES, WHETHER IN AN ADVANCED DEMOCRACY OR IN A SOCIALIST FRANCE, OUR POSITIONS ARE KNOWN. THEY DO NOT STEM FROM THE EXISTENCE OF ONE OR SEVERAL MODELS. THEY ARE FOUNDED ON FRENCH REALITIES ... THESE POSITIONS CONSTITUTE PRECISE COMMITMENTS WHICH WE HAVE ALWAYS RESPECTED AND WHICH WE WILL RESPECT IN THE FUTURE ... I ADD AGAIN THAT AMONG THE FORCES OF THE LEFT, NO PARTY TODAY HAS GONE SO FAR AS OURS IN DEFINING IN A CONCRETE WAY ITS CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE LIBERTIES WHETHER AS A STAGE OF AN ADVANCED DEMOCRACY OR IN A SOCIALIST FRANCE."

3. COMMENT: MARCHAIS BEGINS BY DOWNPLAYING THE IMPORTANCE OF ZARODOV ARTICLE (WHICH WAS NEVER CARRIED IN HUMANITE, PCF ORGAN) BUT ENDS WITH REITERATION OF POSITION HE HAS OFTEN TAKEN IN PAST: THAT THE UNIQUENESS OF THE FRENCH POLITICAL SITUATION NECESSITATES A NATIONAL CHARACTER TO PCF TACTICS AND THAT THE PCF INTENDS TO USE THE ELECTORAL ROUTE TO ATTAIN POLITICAL DOMINANCE.

4. ON THE UPCOMING MEETING OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES, MARCHAIS SAID: "I WOULD BE SURPRISED  
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IF THIS CONFERENCE WERE HELD IN FEBRUARY AS HAS BEEN WRITTEN OR SAID. FOR ONE REASON, BECAUSE WE HAVE NOT BEEN ASKED TO GIVE OUR VIEWS ON A DATE AND FOR ANOTHER, BECAUSE ITS RATE OF PROGRESS IS VERY SLOW. I HAVE ALREADY HAD OCCASION TO SAY, IN THE NAME OF OUR PARTY, THAT WE WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE PREPARATION OF THE CONFERENCE AS WE HAVE ALWAYS DONE. BUT WE WILL NOT SIGN THE FINAL DOCUMENT UNLESS NOT BEEN ASKED TO GIVE OUR VIEWS ON A DATE AND FOR ANOTHER, BECAUSE ITS RATE OF PROGRESS IS VERY SLOW. I HAVE ALREADY HAD OCCASION TO SAY, IN THE NAME OF OUR PARTY, THAT WE WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE PREPARATION OF THE

CONFERENCE AS WE HAVE ALWAYS DONE. BUT WE WILL NOT SIGN THE FINAL DOCUMENT UNLESS IT CORRESPONDS TO THE POLICY OF THE PCF. IF THIS DOCUMENT DOES NOT CORRESPOND TO OUR POLICY, WE WILL NOT SIGN IT."

5. COMMENT: MARCHAIS'LAST STATEMENT ABOVE IS CONSISTENT WITH HIS EARLIER LINE. TO ACCEPT THE IDEA THAT THE PCF CAN ENDORSE THE CONCLUSIONS OF A EUROPEAN CON-

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ERENCE FOR THE SAKE OF COMMUNIST SOLIDARITY WOULD MAKE A MOCKERY OF MUCH-VAUNTED PCF INDEPENDENCE.

6. REGARDING THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL MARCHAIS SAID: "WE ARE VERY WORRIED. WE WELCOMED APRIL 25, 1974. WITHOUT EVER INTERFERING IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF PORTUGAL THE PCF EXPRESSED ITS SOLIDARITY, NOT ONLY WITH THE PCP AND THE MFA, BUT ALSO WITH THE PSP AND ALL THE OTHER FORCES IN WISHING THAT PORTUGAL GO AHEAD DOWN THE ROAD OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEMOCRACY. THE SITUATION TODAY PREOCCUPIES US, ABOVE ALL WHEN WE SEE WITH WHAT SPEED AND VIOLENCE REACTIONARY AND FASCIST FORCES ARE RAISING THEIR HEADS. THAT IS WHY WE WELCOME THE CALL MADE BY PCP FOR THE UNION OF ALL WORKING FORCES, DEMOCRATIC AND ANTI-FASCIST, TO THE PSP AND ALL CHRISTIANS TO WORK TOGETHER TO STOP FASCISM. FRENCH DEMOCRATS SHOULD THINK ABOUT THIS. PEOPLE HAVE SPOKEN FOR MONTHS ABOUT A SO-CALLED COMMUNIST DANGER, A SEIZURE OF INFORMATION MEDIA BY THE PCP, AND ACCUSED

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THEM OF WISHING TO SIEZE THE POWER. BUT ONE SEES ONLY  
TOO WELL TODAY WHO IS THREATENING THE YOUNG PORTUGUESE  
DEMOCRACY. THE PSP SHOULD NOT FAIL TO CONSIDER THE  
SITUATION IT HAS CONTRIBUTED TO CREATING, FIRST WITH  
THE REPUBLICA AFFAIR, THEN IN LEAVING THE GOVERNMENT.  
WE WISH THAT THE APPEAL FOR UNION BE HEARD. FOR 50  
YEARS, SINCE THE RISE OF FASCISM IN PORTUGAL, WE HAVE  
STRUGGLED FOR THE DEFENSE, NOT JUST OF COMMUNISTS, BUT  
FOR ALL PERSECUTED DEMOCRATS IN PORTUGAL ... WE ARE  
INDIGNANT AT WHAT IS HAPPENING TODAY, AT THE TREATMENT  
OF PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS WHO ARE PURSUED AND VICTIMS OF  
VERITABLE POGROMS. YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT THE FRENCH  
COMMUNISTS WILL NOT ALLOW THEIR BROTHERS IN PORTUGAL  
TO BE MASSACRED, WHETHER THEY BE COMMUNISTS OR NOT.  
AND WE HOPE WE ARE NOT ALONE IN THIS COMBAT ... FROM  
THE BEGINNING IT WAS NECESSARY TO CONSTRUCT A NEW  
DEMOCRACY BASED ON THREE COMPONENTS: THE MFA, PCP AND  
PSP. IT WAS CLEAR THEN THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT.  
THAT'S WHY IT IS NECESSARY TO FAVOR THE UNION OF THESE  
FORCES. THERE IS ONLY ONE THING WHICH COUNTS: WILL  
PORTUGAL GO TOWARDS A DEMOCRACY? IT'S ONLY IN REGARD  
TO THIS OBJECTIVE ALONE THAT WE WILL JUDGE AND WILL  
DRAW LESSONS ON THE BEHAVIOR OF THE DIFFERENT DEMOCRA-  
TIC COMPONENTS IN PORTUGAL, COMMUNIST WITHOUT DOUBT  
BUT ALSO SOCIALIST."

7. COMMENT: MARCHAIS' MIXED CRITICISM OF AND APPEAL TO  
PSP ARISES FROM THE FACT THAT SOCIALISTS IN PORTUGAL  
AS IN THE CASE IN FRANCE, ARE IN A STRONGER ELECTORAL  
POSITION THAN COMMUNISTS AND, THEREFORE, A NECESSARY,  
IF UNCOMFORTABLE PARTNER IN GAINING POWER. IN ADDITION,  
MARCHAIS SHOWS CONCERN OVER A THREAT FROM THE RIGHT.  
THERE IS AN OBVIOUS DISCREPANCY, HOWEVER, BETWEEN, ON THE  
ONE HAND, THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE PCF WOULD NOT  
TOLERATE A MASSACRE IN PORTUGAL AND, ON THE OTHER, THE  
CLAIM NOT TO INTERFERE IN INTERNAL PORTUGUESE AFFAIRS  
AND HIS REJECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY  
TACTICS IN PRAVDA.

8. FULL TEXT OF PRESS CONFERENCE BEING POUCHED TO  
EUR/WE.

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 26 AUG 1999  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 11 AUG 1975  
**Decapton Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** RowellE0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**To:** STATE  
p INFO ROME  
LISBON  
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MOSCOW  
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